

Whether it is part of your body or disease or illness, you are stuck.

Next year it is excluded.

Let me tell you the lengths to which they have gone. When this woman, who is now with her husband in the private health insurance market, goes in for a mammogram and they say, Where should we send the results, she says: Send them to me personally. I don't want them to go to a doctor because if they become part of my medical record, it will be used against me when we apply for health insurance next year.

That is what it has come to and that is what people are facing across America—outrageous copayments, increases in premiums they cannot afford, and less and less coverage every year.

What have we done about it? What has this Government done to stand behind these businesses and labor unions and families? Absolutely nothing.

That is unacceptable. If we really want to address an issue that business cares about and labor cares about, this is the issue.

If you are concerned about competitiveness, consider this: The cost of health insurance is embedded in the cost of every American product that we export overseas. In other countries, the government provides the health insurance. It is a government obligation, paid for in taxes. The individual companies do not have to add it to the cost of the car they are selling in the United States. But we do. Every time we produce something in the United States with American workers, covered by health insurance premiums that are going through the roof, the cost of that health insurance is embedded in every product and, frankly, takes away from our competitiveness.

I challenge myself as a Senator here and my colleagues. We cannot escape the responsibility to address this issue honestly, and we cannot escape the reality that the marketplace is now driving health insurance beyond the reach of conscientious businesses that want to protect their employees and labor unions that are trying to stand up for working men and women and of families who, if they are left to their own devices, will find this to be a very cruel alternative when they seek health insurance.

I yield the floor.

MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR—S. 1618

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I understand S. 1618 is at the desk and is due for a second reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the bill for the second time.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1618) to reauthorize Federal Aviation Administration Programs for the period beginning on October 1, 2003, and ending on March 31, 2004, and for other purposes.

Mr. SANTORUM. I object to further proceedings on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard. The bill will be placed on the calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

PARTIAL-BIRTH ABORTION BAN ACT OF 2003—Continued

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I believe we are now on S. 3, which is the partial-birth abortion bill?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, for the information of Members, we will have an hour of debate, a half hour each side, and then we will have a vote at 2:40 this afternoon, followed by a series of five votes on judges.

This is a vote that, candidly, is not necessary. It is a vote that will be 100 to nothing, or as many Senators as are still here to nothing.

It is a vote to get this bill to conference. The House passed one bill. The Senate has passed a different bill. The normal rules are you adopt a motion of disagreement and go to conference. Otherwise, you keep bouncing back and forth to the House and the Senate with a fully amendable vehicle which doesn't get you anywhere.

I am asking all of my colleagues to vote on this procedural matter to get the bill to conference. I will tell you that I fully anticipate the bill coming out of conference within a very short period of time before we recess for the rest of the year. We will have a bill that will pass here overwhelmingly. It will pass in the House overwhelmingly and be signed by the President, which is the objective I think certainly the vast majority of the people in this Chamber would like to see done.

I understand there may be some reasons the Senator from California wanted to have this debate and have this vote. This is probably the only time where all of us will agree on this issue and vote for this resolution and get it to conference. We will then move, hopefully expeditiously, from that point.

I see the Senator from New Jersey is here. I will be happy to yield the floor and allow him time to speak.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CORZINE. Mr. President, thank you. I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. President, I come to the floor and stand with my good friend, Senator BOXER, and the women across America to express my support for the landmark Roe v. Wade decision and the importance of protecting a woman's fundamental right to choose. I think that really is what the issue is about—not the parliamentary procedures we are talking about. Earlier this year, we marked the 30th anniversary of this critical decision which clearly established a woman's fundamental right to reproductive choice. I strongly support that right. The decision about this dif-

ficult choice for an individual should be made by the woman, her doctor, and her moral counsel and, in my view, not by politicians and not by Government. Simply put, I trust the women of America to make their own health and moral decisions without the intrusion of Government. I think that is what Roe v. Wade indicates.

Having said that, I recognize women and men of good faith can and will reach different conclusions about this difficult moral question involved in the debate. But Roe v. Wade is the law of the land. I am very troubled by this administration's—and frankly Congress's—attempts to undermine that basic right by that decision. Whether it is through the so-called partial-birth abortion bill, reduced access to family planning, efforts in redefining the legal status of fetuses, or far-right traditional nominations, this administration and this Congress are constantly knowingly chipping away at women's fundamental freedoms.

That is why I was pleased when, in the context of the so-called partial-birth bill, the Senate adopted the Harkin resolution expressing support for Roe v. Wade, which is what the debate is about today.

First, let me make clear I oppose the underlying bill, and I still do. I believe the bill is unconstitutional, and it doesn't take into account the health of the woman that the Supreme Court requires. Its practical effect would be to deny women access to some of the safest procedures at all stages. That said, with the Harkin amendment included, I was at least partially satisfied that the Senate has reaffirmed the importance of Roe v. Wade.

Again, the reason we are having this debate is to make sure our conferees are embracing something we supported here in an open vote on the floor of the Senate. All of us know the House has stripped away the resolution affirming Roe, laying bare, in my view, the true purpose of the underlying legislation—to undermine Roe and ultimately roll back women's rights.

When Roe v. Wade was decided in January of 1973, abortion, except to save a woman's life, was banned in two-thirds of the States, including my home State of New Jersey. Roe rendered these laws unconstitutional, making abortion services safer and more accessible to women throughout the country—not just to a select few—and certainly on a safe basis. Many of these statutes are still on the books waiting for an anti-choice majority in the Supreme Court to overrule Roe.

I hope my colleagues will think long and hard about the implications of forsaking Roe. We need to be very careful to avoid returning to a period in which abortion was illegal and when the only choice women had was to seek illegal and unsafe abortions—particularly when economic position determined who had a safe choice. In those days, thousands of women died each year as a direct result of the abortion ban. In